POPULATION TODAY

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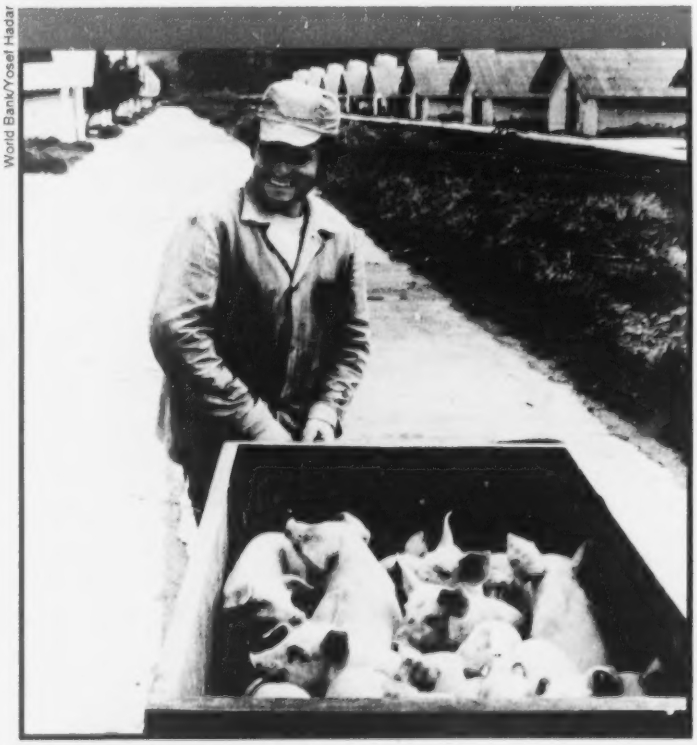

World Bank/Yosef Hadar

These little piggies go to market in Macedonia—one of the latest additions to PRB's *World Population Data Sheet.*

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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

With ongoing debates over child poverty, the tax burden of entitlement programs for the elderly, and intergenerational equity—it may be worth noting that this is not the first time people have pondered the riddle of intergenerational justice. For example, consider this traditional Jewish fable:

A bird once set out to cross a windy sea with its three fledglings. The sea was so wide and the wind so strong, the father bird was forced to carry his young, one by one, in his strong claws. When he was half-way across with the first fledgling the wind turned into a gale, and he said, "My child, look how I am struggling and risking my life on your behalf. When you are grown up, will you do as much for me and provide for my old age?"

The fledgling replied, "Only bring me to safety, and when you are old I shall do everything you ask of me." Whereat the father bird dropped his child into the sea, and it drowned, and he said, "So shall it be done to such a liar as you." Then the father returned to shore, set forth with his second fledgling, asked the same question, and receiving the same answer, dropped the second child with the cry, "You, too, are a liar!"

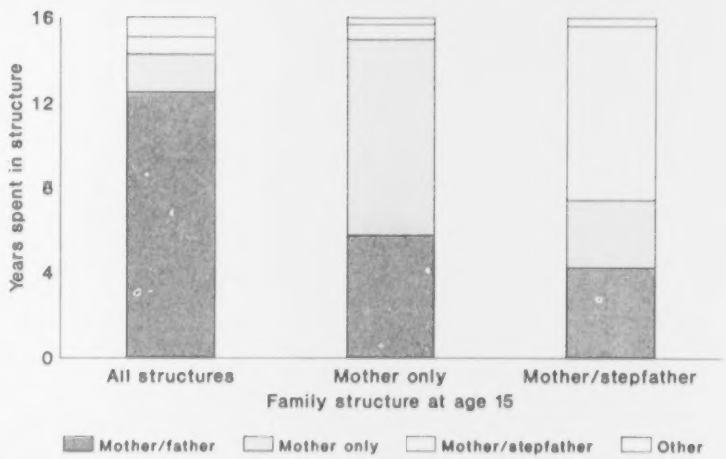
Finally he set out with the third fledgling, and when he asked the same question the third and last fledgling replied, "My dear father, it is true you are struggling mightily and risking your life in my behalf, and I shall be wrong not to repay you when you are old, but I cannot bind myself. This though I can promise: When I am grown up and have children of my own, I shall do as much for them as you have done for me." Whereupon the father bird said, "Well spoken my child, and wisely. Your life I will spare and I will carry you to shore in safety."

—Susan Kalish

Source: *The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln*, trans. by Marvin Lowenthal, intro. by Robert Rosen, New York: Random House, 1989.

SPEAKING GRAPHICALLY

Experience of Family Structure for Children Born in the 1960s



Note: "Other" includes such family arrangements as father-only, father/stepmother, grandparents only, other relatives, adoptive or foster parents, institutional, or on own.
Source: Roger Wojtkiewicz, Louisiana State University, analysis of the National Survey of Families and Households.

Here's another look at the changing American family. For children born 1960-1969, those in mother-only families at age 15 (about 15 percent of the study group) had spent on average 5.7 years with both biological parents, 9.3 years with mother only, and 0.7 years with mother and a stepfather. Those in stepfamilies (about 9 percent) averaged 4.2 years with their biological parents, 3.2 years with mother only, and 8.2 years with mother and stepfather. About 67 percent had lived with both biological parents only at age 15.

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Recycled Paper

Blacks and Hispanics Poised for Increase in Congress

The minority vote will be unusually important in the 1992 congressional elections. Reapportionment and redistricting are creating new black-majority and Hispanic-majority congressional districts that could significantly increase the number of minority representatives in Congress.

Although final district boundaries have still not been agreed upon in many states, it appears that as many as 13 new black-majority districts could be added to 1990's total of 18, and from 7 to 10 new Hispanic majority districts could be added to 1990's total of 13.

The Congressional Black Caucus, which now numbers 25, will grow by 10 to 15 members, predicts David Bostitis, senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies in Washington, D.C. He thinks that the Congressional Hispanic Caucus could increase from 13 to 20 or more members.

Although minorities often vote Democratic, Bostitis points out, creating more minority districts could tend to lower the number of Democrats in Congress. This paradoxical result could occur as concentrations of minority voters (who may have previously strengthened Democratic voting blocs in several districts) are strung together into one "minority-majority" district. Under this scenario, the number of Democratic minority members could increase while the total number of Democrats in Congress decreases. As many as one in six Democrats in Congress could be either black or Hispanic, predicts Bostitis.

North Carolina's 12th Congressional District combines residential concentrations of blacks in several cities.

Population Shifts

How did the potential for such big changes in minority representation come about? For one thing, the U.S. population's continued shift toward the Sunbelt meant that the reapportionment following the 1990 Census created several new seats in states with high minority populations, points out William O'Hare, head of the Population and Policy Research Program at the Urban Research Institute of the University of Louisville. California, which has a population that is 7 percent black, almost 10 percent Asian, and 26 percent Hispanic, gained seven seats. Florida (14 percent black and 12 percent Hispanic) gained four seats; and Texas (12 percent black and 25 percent Hispanic) gained three seats. In addition to the big three, three additional states with large black populations—Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia—each gained a congressional seat. California, Texas, and Florida are also among the top five receiving states for immigrants, who are heavily Hispanic and Asian.

Natural increase also favors growth in the minority population; white women average 1.9 children in their lifetimes, while black women average 2.4 and Hispanic women, 2.9 children.

Redistricting and Minorities

A second factor is the impact of the Voting Rights Act, amended by Congress in 1982. Under the act, passed in 1965 to combat discrimination against minority voters, jurisdictions with a history of systematic discrimination (such as a poll tax or a literacy test), must have redistricting plans "pre-cleared" by the Justice Department's Voting Rights Section before they are submitted to state legislatures for approval. For states not covered, court interpretations in the 1980s require jurisdictions to form districts with majorities of blacks or Hispanics wherever the demographics warrant it, while avoiding weakening existing "minority-majority" districts.

This approach de-emphasizes the criteria of compactness and has led to some odd-looking district maps, such as North Carolina's 12th Congressional District, which begins in Durham and follows Interstate Highway 85 southward 130 miles to pick up residential concentrations of blacks in Greensboro and Charlotte.

This is the first decade of redistricting to take full advantage of computer mapping technology. Census data available on computer tape contains information on racial and ethnic residential patterns down to the block level. Using specialized software, it is possible to quickly map out districts of different shapes and demographic composition. The Justice Department now uses similar computer technology to speed its pre-clearance evaluations.

The purpose of the Voting Rights Act is to enable minority voters—who have often in the past been subject to district configurations that minimized the effect of their numbers—to exert their political will. As a rule of thumb, a 65 percent population majority is thought to overcome the effects of a proportionally smaller voting-age population and lower rates of voter registration and turnout among minorities.

Although poor and minority groups tend to be less likely to exercise the

Continued on next page

1992 World Data Sheet Expands with New Countries

The population of Tajikistan would double in 22 years if current trends continue, while that of Ukraine would not do so in a thousand years. Lithuania's population is 3.7 million; in Croatia women live an average of 76 years, and in Bosnia-Herzegovinia, only one-third of the population is urban.

These are but a few of the new comparisons that can be made with PRB's *1992 World Population Data Sheet*, which accompanies this month's mailing to PRB members. It is larger than any previous edition, covering 195 countries in place of last year's 173 and reflects the momentous political changes of 1991-1992.

Where there once was the USSR, there are now 15 new countries whose names are gaining familiarity through the daily press. Recent editions of the *World Data Sheet* have featured several reunitings—both Germanies and the Yemens—but this one reflects breakups. As we went to press, the situation in Yugoslavia was in a state of flux. Croatia and Slovenia broke from Yugoslavia, received European Community recognition, and even sent teams to the Winter Olympics. Now, it appears other Yugoslav republics may follow a similar path.

These two situations presented novel problems to the preparers of the *World Data Sheet*: how to show these countries, or "geopolitical entities," as the footnotes phrase it. Our solution this year is to show each Yugoslav and Soviet republic separately. In the case of the former Soviet Union, there is no doubt that the breakup is a reality. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have made the first and most complete break and are UN members. They are shown in their logical geographic region, Northern Europe. The remaining republics are more of a problem. Since the new Commonwealth of Independent States (which Georgia has not joined) is a loose confederation on the lines of a NATO, it seems clear they should not be listed under an umbrella group such as the "CIS."

But where to put them? Our current solution is to group the remaining 12 republics as "Former Soviet Republics." Listing both these twelve and the six Yugoslav republics individually is not meant to imply anything about their political status. This has been done for convenient reference, since so many people have called asking for demographic information on these areas.

Three other countries have been added, since it is our policy to show all UN members even if their population size is below the 150,000 cutoff point. These are San Marino, the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia.

Along with its larger format, the *World Data Sheet* now shows life expectancy at birth for males and females separately, an addition suggested by a user from England.

This year's world population total will be something of a shock to those who would routinely add estimated annual world increase of 93 million to last year's total of 5.384 billion. This would yield 5.477 billion for 1992. But the total this year is less: 5.420 billion. Why the difference? The results of quite a few censuses taken around 1990 are becoming available and many of the results are lower than past estimates.

The big shocker is Nigeria's November 1991 census count of only 88.5 million instead of the 120+ million previously estimated. This new count has had the demographic world abuzz since its March 20th release, particularly since the census is deemed to be of good quality. Thanks to the short production schedule of the *World Data Sheet* we were able to include this late-breaking change.

Despite some lower population totals resulting from recent censuses—for example, Brazil, Venezuela, and Thailand—the outlook for world population growth has changed little. China's reported birth rate is down slightly from last year's rate, as is India's. But India's death rate dropped as well, so that country's growth is unchanged this year. The decreases in reported census counts are minor blips in a projected total for 2025 which still rounds to 8.5 billion.

—Carl Haub

PRB's *World Population Data Sheet* is produced in French and Spanish language versions in alternating years. A 1992 French edition will be available by early summer.

The *1992 World Population Data Sheet* may also be purchased on diskette for IBM compatible computers. A set of color slides featuring 15 world maps illustrating *World Data Sheet* variables is also available, based on the 1991 edition (updates are planned for alternate years). Contact the Population Reference Bureau for ordering information.

Congressional Redistricting, *Continued from previous page*

vote than middle-class whites, this is not always the case, according to Charles Bullock of the University of Georgia. The excitement of "first-time" races tends to increase minority political participation and "outweigh the anchor of socioeconomic status." In 1983, in the Chicago mayoral contest that elected Harold Washington, the black turnout was 79 percent. It was 66 percent when Wilson Good was elected mayor in Philadelphia that year. Similar voter excitement could "pump up" the campaign of Carol Mosley Braun, who bested incumbent Senator Alan Dixon of Illinois in the Democratic primary. If Braun wins in November, the Cook County recorder of deeds will become the first black woman senator.

In addition to 1992's more favorable district demographics, there is a strong field of minority congressional candidates. Comments O'Hare: "An unprecedented number of minority elected officials took office at state and local levels during the 1980s, which created a broader base of experienced people from which to draw congressional candidates." For example, Bostitis considers black congressional candidates Eddie Bernice Johnson, a woman state senator in Texas, and Albert Wynn, a Maryland state senator, to be shoo-ins.

Although "minority-majority" districts often elect minority candidates, this is not always the case. Nor are all minorities in Congress from heavily minority districts: Alan Wheat (D-MO) represents a district that is 24 percent black; Gary Franks' (R-CT) district is less than 5 percent black.

—Susan Kalish

Macunovich To Be PRB's Visiting Scholar

Economist Diane Macunovich has been chosen as PRB's 1992-93 visiting scholar. She will be in residence from September 1992 to May 1993.

The work Macunovich will carry out at PRB is part of a larger project, undertaken with economist Richard Easterlin, to investigate trends in the distribution of economic well-being from a combined demographic and economic perspective. The project will examine how individuals influence their economic well-being through life-cycle demographic decisions, such as the formation and dissolution of unions, household living arrangements, timing and number of children, and entering or leaving the labor force.

The work will compare trends in the distribution of economic well-being with those in wage inequality, and analyze how the likelihood of being poor or well-off changes during different stages of life. The project will highlight single parents and their children, unmarried couples, and single persons under age 45, women, blacks, and Hispanics.

Dr. Macunovich is currently an Assistant Professor of Economics at Williams College, where she specializes in demographic economics and in labor economics. A prolific writer on the dynamics of demographics and economics, she received a B.Sc. from MIT and an M.A. and a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Southern California.

The Visiting Scholar Program, established in 1981 by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, provides a unique career-building opportunity for scholars while strengthening and diversifying PRB's research resources. PRB's 1991-92 visiting scholar is John May of the Future's Group, who has been investigating the population crisis and related policy interventions in the African country of Rwanda.

—Susan Kalish

SURVEY REPORT

Paraguay

Women in the South American nation of Paraguay are currently averaging almost 5 children in their lifetimes: the total fertility rate (TFR) is 4.7—one of the highest rates in Latin America. So reports the Paraguayan National Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) of 1990. The survey interviewed 5,827 women between the ages of 15 and 49 on reproductive and children's health issues.

The TFR for rural women in Paraguay is above six children per woman. As for many of the health and fertility indicators in the study, urban-rural differentials are large. Similarly, there are differences between better-educated and less-educated mothers, and for families living in the less-developed Northern region of the country.

When asked about ideal family size, responses averaged 3.5 children, which is the average TFR for Latin America as a whole, but smaller than actual family size. As many as 44 percent of fecund women do not want any more children, and one-fourth wanted to postpone pregnancy for more than two years.

Knowledge of family planning methods is almost universal—93 percent of women, regardless of their marital status, know at least one modern method. Seven out of ten women in union have used a family planning method and almost half of the women in union said they were using a method at the time of the survey. The most frequently used methods are the pill (14 percent), female sterilization (7 percent), the IUD (6 percent), and the contraceptive injection (5 percent). On the whole, 35 percent of the women in union use a modern method of contraception while 13 percent employ a traditional one.

Family planning needs were not being met for an estimated 131,000 women in union, equivalent to one in five women of reproductive age. Of these women, 60 percent did not want any more children and 40 percent wanted to space future births.

IDB/Carlos Conde

Shoppers in Asunción: Paraguay has one of the highest fertility rates in Latin America.

The DHS report indicates that infant mortality rates in Paraguay decreased by almost one-fourth, from 45 to 35 per thousand births between 1975-1980 and 1985-1990. Mortality among children between the ages of one and four decreased by more than half (55 percent). Most Paraguayan children are vaccinated against major childhood diseases, but only about one out of every five children (18 percent) receives the vaccines during their first year of life. About one out of every six children in Paraguay under the age of five (16 percent) suffers from chronic malnutrition.

—Sara Adkins-Blanch

The survey was carried out by the Centro Paraguayo de Estudios de Población (CEPEP) with technical assistance provided by the Institute for Resource Development (IRD) and financial support from the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.). The DHS division of the Institute for Resource Development works under contract to A.I.D. to conduct surveys in Africa, Asia, and Latin America on fertility, contraceptive prevalence, and other population issues.

DEMOGRAPHER'S PAGE

Immigration in France: Popular Perceptions Versus Reality

When demographic processes wind up as front page news, they often lose some of their precision. What seem to be subtleties of definition can lead to large misunderstandings that fuel emotional confrontations. In France, as in many European countries, immigration has become a major political issue, as the recent sharp gains at the polls made by the anti-immigrant National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen testify.

An opinion survey taken last fall found that many French think the number of foreigners in their country is rising dramatically when, in actuality, it has changed little over the past decade. Moreover, the immigration figures (see table), that demonstrate this were published months earlier in June.

In the following article, translated from the December 1991 newsletter of the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (INED), Editor-in-Chief Michel Lévy attempts to set the record straight.

One problem, says Lévy, was a confusion over the number of foreign-born in France. The 1990 Census found 4.13 immigrés *(immigrants) and 3.58 million* étrangers *(foreign residents), however, 2.84 million people (*étrangers *not born in France) overlapped into both categories, producing a total of 4.87 million foreigners, not 7.71 million.*

Adding to the confusion was a gross error by a reporter over a scholarly definition: the number of foreigners in France versus a broader category, "of foreign extraction."

Compared to the United States, immigration to European countries is actually very low except in a few instances, such as Germany, and, more recently, Austria. Citizenship is difficult to obtain. (See box on citizenship requirements, on facing page, translated from the French newspaper Le Monde*).*

A Clarification: Foreigners, Immigrants, French Citizens of Foreign Origin

by Michel Lévy
Translated from *Population et Sociétés*

The September 21st issue of *Le Figaro Magazine* reports the findings of an opinion poll of the French survey organization, Société Francaise d'Etudes par Esondages or SOFRES. The poll contained the following question: "According to official statistics, there are today in France the same number of immigrants as there were ten years ago. Do you agree?" The responses: Yes, completely agree, 4 percent; Yes, agree more or less, 3 percent; No, not really, 26 percent; No, definitely disagree, 49 percent; No opinion, 8 percent.

Preferring to recall what the "official statistics" are, rather than putting it to a public opinion poll to determine if the figures are "true" or not, several high officials have issued a clarification. These included the director of the French statistical agency, Institut National de la Statistique et d'Etudes Economiques (INSEE), former Secretary-General Marceau Long, the president of the High Council of Integration, and the director of the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (INED). The report showed the actual numbers of foreigners and immigrants as measured in the national censuses of 1982 and 1990 (see table). The text of this clarification of the data was widely published by the press. The relevant figures, however, had already been released by INSEE in June 1991, when the results of the 1990 census became available.

Immigrants [*immigrés*], according to the report, consist of those who were born outside France but who were resident in the country at the time of the census (including those who had become

Table 1. Immigration and the French Population, 1982 and 1990

Citizenship category	1982 (numbers in thousands)	1990 (numbers in thousands)
French citizens		
By birth and naturalized (*par acquisition*) born in France	49,420	51,760
Naturalized (*par acquisition*) not born in France*	1,170	1,290
Total citizens	50,590	53,050
Foreign residents of France [*étrangers*]		
Born outside of France*	2,850	2,840
Born in France**	830	740
Total foreign	3,680	3,580
Total population	**54,270**	**56,630**

*Considered *immigrés*.
**Unlike the rules governing U.S. citizenship, children of foreign parents born in France do not automatically receive French citizenship.

Michel Lévy is Editor in Chief of Population et Sociétés, the newsletter of the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (INED)

Citizenship in Europe: Diverse Legislation

Translated from Le Monde, September 25, 1991

Citizenship laws are the complex products of national, and even colonial history and of the social, philosophical and political conceptions unique to each state. Therefore, diversity is the rule. On the whole, countries that generally receive immigrants have a tendency to show preference for the criteria of citizenship right by place of birth, in order to integrate new arrivals. By contrast, countries of high emigration often make kinship primary in order to maintain links with their distant compatriates. [Mother countries may also extend such ties of kinship toward the descendants of those who went out to settle colonies. In the United States, with its strong tradition of immigration, U.S. birth is the primary consideration: all children born on U.S. territory, for example, Puerto Rico or Guam, automatically receive citizenship.]

The two major rationales for citizenship are...*jus soli* ("soil law," or citizenship by virtue of one's birthplace) and *jus sanguinis* ("blood law," or citizenship by virtue of one's ancestry). Legislation varies widely from country to country:

• **Germany.** This is one of only two countries in Europe, along with Switzerland, which do not take into consideration the place of birth in citizenship requirements. To be German, it is necessary to be born of German parents or to "subscribe to German ethics." This system, which permitted justification for the annexation of Alsace, was later adapted on the return of German minorities and East German refugees since 1945. The 10,000-12,000 citizens naturalized annually are the only Germans of which nationality is the product of free will or choice. Yet naturalization is onerous: regular residence of at least 10 years, a positive attitude with regard to German culture, and knowledge of the constitution are required.

This closed conception of nationality is, however, changing with the advent of a new law for foreigners which facilitates naturalization of foreigners residing in Germany for more than 15 years. In addition, foreign children born in Germany have resident rights independent of their parents, and a right to naturalization if they have lived more than eight years in country and attend school for four or more years.

• **Switzerland.** Swiss legislation is of the German type. The candidate's respect for local customs, dialect, and participation in social life are verified at the community level. In the majority of areas it is also required to take a civic oath. Switzerland also recently eased practices by no longer demanding that citizens renounce their nationality of origin.

• **Great Britain.** For a long time British citizenship was accorded to all nationals of the British Empire on the basis of *jus soli*. Since 1981, however, citizenship has been reserved for people who have either a British parent or are born in Great Britain where one of the parents is a resident. Marriage to a British citizen does not automatically provide citizenship: a simplified naturalization procedure is required. An applicant for naturalization must have at least five years residence.

• **Belgium.** The criteria of place of birth and relationship are combined in Belgium. The foreign parents of a child born in Belgium can demand citizenship for a minor child, if one of the parents is Belgian-born. A foreigner born in Belgium can, on the other hand, request citizenship between the ages of 18 and 22.

• **Italy.** The system closely resembles that of France. Foreigners born in Italy automatically acquire nationality in three cases: fulfullment of military service; to work in a public position; or residence for 10 years from the day an individual reaches adulthood. Traditionally a country of emigration, Italy only recently introduced *jus soli*.

• **Netherlands.** Foreigners can acquire citizenship between the ages of 21 and 25 if they have always lived in the country. Place of birth is the dominant criterion, since a foreigner born in Holland is a Netherlander if his family has resided there for two generations.

• **Spain.** Historically, *jus sanguinis* dominates, with large numbers of Latin Americans having the right to Spanish citizenship if residing in the country. But the *jus soli* is applied as in France, since a foreigner born in Spain acquires nationality if at least one of his parents was born there.

French citizens). Immigrants who become French citizens do so *par aquisition* (by naturalization). Excluded from *immigrés* are residents born of French parents outside of "metropolitan" France (continental France plus Corsica), for example, in foreign countries or in the overseas departments and territories such as Guadeloupe or French Guiana.

The number of "immigrants" (*étrangers* born outside France plus French citizens *par aquisition*) rose only from 4.02 million in 1982 to 4.13 million in 1990—figures that do not support the notion of a rising immigrant tide. The number of foreigners (*étrangers*), that is, residents not of French citizenship regardless of birthplace, actually fell from 3.68 to 3.58 million.

The actual number of "foreigners" born outside of France but living in France fell by 10,000 persons between 1982 and 1990. According to more detailed results published by INSEE, this was due to a reduction of 180,000 (-14.2 percent) for emigrants of the eleven countries of the Economic Community (EC) and an increase of 170,000 (+10.8 percent) for those coming from countries outside of the EC.

The same issue of *Le Figaro* attributes to "official statistics" the following assertion: 14 million foreigners now reside in France." This is an astonishingly large error, in complete contradiction to the preceding data (3.6 million foreigners, 4.1 million immigrants) which cannot be accounted for by simply saying "they were missed by the census."

The number 14 million stems from the recently published work of INED's Michèle Tribalat. But this figure turns out to be the high estimate for the number of all persons living in France in 1986 who were of foreign extraction: either themselves foreign born (and of foreign ancestry) or those who had at least one foreign-born parent or one foreign-born grandparent.

Jobs and Health Insurance: The Link Weakens

As hard times force breadwinners out of jobs, their families are also losing health insurance. Employment-related health insurance covers almost two-thirds (64 percent) of nonelderly Americans, according to the Employee Benefits Research Institute's (EBRI) analysis of the March 1991 Current Population Survey (CPS). Yet, 85 percent of the uninsured lived in families headed by people with some attachment to the labor force (see figure).

- More than half (54.0 percent) lived in households where the head worked full-time, all year round.
- An additional 31.5 percent lived in families in which the head of the household worked part-time or for part of the year.
- Only 14.5 percent of the uninsured lived in households where the head did not work at all that year.
- More than half of uninsured children (57 percent) lived in homes where the head of the family worked full-time, all year round. In 1990, children made up more than one-quarter of those without health insurance (27.5 percent).

An estimated 35.7 million Americans—16.6 percent of the nonelderly population—were without health insurance in 1990. This number has been growing: up from 34.4 million in 1989 and 33.6 million in 1988. Workers and members of their families are considerably more likely to be covered by health insurance than nonworkers. However, recession-pinched employers seem increasingly less willing to cover its rapidly rising costs, according to Katherine Swartz of the Urban Institute.

"The recession has a double-edged effect," commented Swartz. "First, people lose their jobs, become unemployed, and their families are unprotected. Second, some of the people who are 'losing' their jobs are actually being rehired again on a contract or temporary basis—with no health benefits." Yet, it is by no means certain that employers will be eager to pick up the cost burden of health insurance again as the economic climate improves.

This trend leaves some workers unprotected, since government-funded health insurance is targeted to two groups that are often outside the labor force: people age 65 and over, who are insured through Medicare; and the poor, who are insured through Medicaid.

The Working Uninsured: Who Are They?

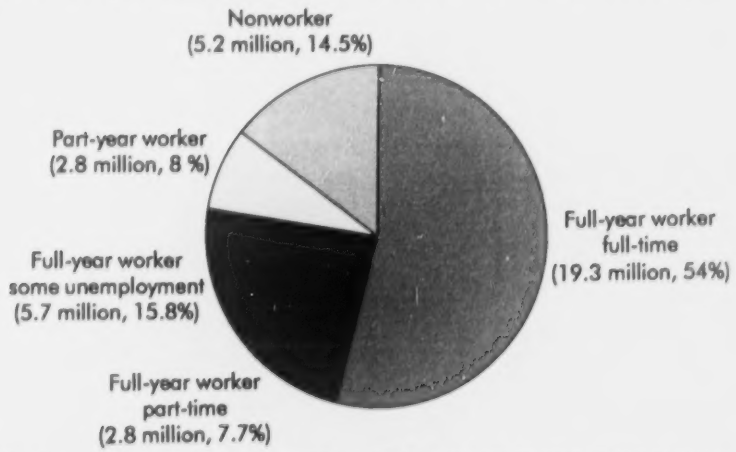
Many of the working uninsured are employed by large firms: 35 percent in firms with 100 or more employees in 1990 (more than half of these larger firms had 1,000 or more workers). About as many, 36 percent, worked for small employers (with fewer than 25 employees) and 14 percent were self-employed. Many small employers, facing the higher administrative costs and greater risks associated with small groups, cannot obtain affordable coverage, comments the EBRI report.

Younger workers are more likely than others to be uninsured, as Swartz showed in an earlier analysis of 1987 CPS data. About one-fourth (26 percent) of uninsured workers are age 18-24 and an additional 29 percent are age 25-34. The relatively large size of the baby-boom generation (ages 22 to 40 in 1986) account for some of this concentration. It appears that some people may spend years in the labor force before getting settled in a job that provides health benefits, says Swartz.

In 1990, 39 percent of agricultural workers were not insured. Neither were 31 percent of construction or retail workers. More unexpectedly, as many as 17 percent of service workers and 7 percent of government employees also lacked insurance. Swartz's earlier analysis showed that two large employment sectors, services and retail trade, together accounted for over half of all uninsured workers.

Another at-risk group is workers with health problems, who may lose coverage. In addition, some observers are concerned that labor mobility is impeded when insurance companies deny coverage to new hires with pre-existing health conditions.

Figure 1. Uninsured by Work Status of the Family Head (Excluding Elderly)



Note: Numbers do not add to total uninsured population under age 65 (35.7 million) because of rounding.
Source: Employee Benefit Research Institute analysis of the March 1991 CPS. *Issue Brief* 123 (February 1992).

Proposals for Reform

Proposals for reforming the health system tend to fall into three groups:

- **National health insurance.** This approach would make the government the sole or chief payer of health and medical bills. Canada's health system is often held up as an example.
- **"Play or pay."** This approach would mandate that employers provide insurance and/or make contributions into a back-up risk pool.
- **Modify the existing system.** Proposals include tax credits to make insurance more affordable, vouchers for the poor, encouragements to small busi-

ness and states to form risk pools, and continued efforts to hold down costs. President Bush highlighted health-care reform in his State of the Union message in January, proposing to ease the cost of insurance through tax credits, vouchers, and deductions. The Democratic presidential candidates all took positions on the issue, with Bill Clinton backing a "play-or-pay" plan. Many observers feel a significant change is in the works, regardless of the outcome of the 1992 election.

—Susan Kalish

POPULATION UPDATE

Estimated United States Population:

As of February 1, 1992	254,283,000
As of February 1, 1991	251,584,000

The above estimates, based on the 1990 Census, include armed forces overseas and are from U.S. Bureau of the Census *Current Population Reports*, P-25, no. 1084.

Estimated World Population:

As of May 1992	5,405,000,000
Annual growth	91,000,000

Extrapolated from the mid-1992 population on PRB's *1992 World Population Data Sheet*.

Latest Provisional Statistics for the U.S.: November 1991

	12 months ending with November					
	Number		Rate			
	1991	1990	1991	1990	1989	1988
Live births	4,123,000	4,170,000	16.3	16.6	16.1	15.9
Deaths	2,161,000	2,175,000	8.5	8.7	8.6	8.8
Natural increase	1,962,000	1,995,000	7.8	7.9	7.5	7.1
Marriages	2,370,000	2,464,000	9.4	9.8	9.7	9.7
Divorces	1,186,000	1,184,000	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.8
Infant deaths	36,700	38,200	9.0	9.1	9.7	10.0

Note. Rates are given per 1,000 population, except for infant deaths, which are given per 1,000 live births.
Source. National Center for Health Statistics, *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, vol. 40, no. 11 (1992).

Clarifying Breastfeeding's Role in Contraception

Under what circumstances can a woman rely on breastfeeding as a contraceptive method? The family planning community may be beginning to get useful answers to this question.

Pregnancy is rare among nursing mothers who have not yet resumed their monthly menstrual cycles. In developing countries, lactational amenorrhoea (cessation of menstruation linked to breastfeeding) plays a key role in birth spacing, which can have major health benefits for mothers and infants. It is also well known that the custom of nursing for extended periods can have a substantial effect on a country's fertility rates. Yet, the contraceptive protection of breastfeeding is widely regarded as unreliable for an individual woman.

In order to reconcile these two seemingly contradictory notions, the Bellagio consensus in 1989 set guidelines for the use of breastfeeding for contraceptive purposes, which was termed the lactational amenorrhoea method or LAM. The consensus stated that amenorrhoeic women who are fully or nearly fully breastfeeding are 98 percent protected from pregnancy for six months after delivery.

However, any supplement to the infant's breastmilk diet can interfere with this natural contraceptive protection, which operates through the neuroendocrine stimulus provided by vigorous and frequent suckling of the baby at the breast. This condition made it problematic to rely on LAM, since it is sometimes hard to guage the extent and effect of supplementation.

A paper recently published in the prestigious British medical journal *The Lancet* may go a long way to resolve the difficulties. The paper analyzes data on the resumption of fertility after childbirth from nine studies conducted in both developed and developing countries. It presents cumulative probabilities of ovulation and cumulative pregnancy rates based on these samples.

The authors conclude that, as a guide for women wanting to use lactational amenorrhoea for family planning, food supplementation for the infant is not as useful a sign as the return of menses. Although the two are biologically related, within six months after giving birth the return of menses is a good indicator of when to switch to other forms of family planning if desired. The study found that 3 percent of women became pregnant using LAM when the return of menses was considered the cut-off for using that method. Only 0.7 percent became pregnant if supplementation plus the returned menses marked the cutoff. However, using the more rigorous supplementation cut-off point led to higher drop-out rates from the LAM method and double protection for some women. Thus the return of menses may be viable as a solitary marker. However, education about good breastfeeding skills and weaning practices remain crucial. In addition, women should start another method of contraception immediately after menstruation resumes.

—John F. May
PRB Visiting Scholar

For more information, see Kathy I. Kennedy and Cynthia M. Visness, "Contraceptive Efficacy of Lactational Amenorrhoea," *The Lancet* 339 (January 25, 1992), 227-230.

TAKE A NUMBER

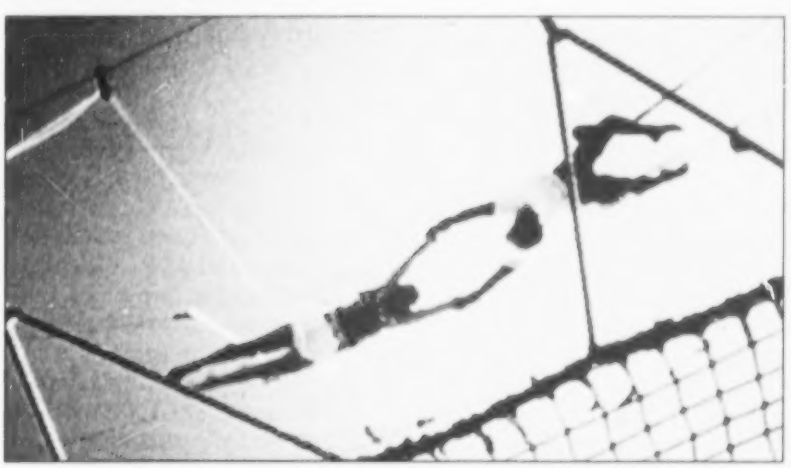
Nigeria census surprises the experts. Analysts have long suspected that the population estimates often used for Nigeria were too high, but the actual results of Nigeria's 1991 Census have stunned observers. In the absence of any reliable national census in the past, Nigeria's population was estimated at approximately 120 million. That's why the first provisional total of 88,514,501 has really turned some heads. The 1991 census, which has so far received good marks for accuracy, was designed to overcome the shortcomings of earlier attempts at enumeration in the 1960s and 1970s. If the 88.5 million number holds up, Nigeria will drop from the world's 8th largest country to 10th and the world population total will be at least 30 million less than expected. At current rates of growth, however, Nigeria will be approaching the 120 million mark before the decade's end.

U.S. immigration on the rise. The just-released *1990 Statistical Yearbook* of the Immigration and Naturalization Service reports that 656,111 immigrants (including refugees) entered the United States in Fiscal Year 1990. This is the largest number in INS statistics since 1924. The total number of those considered "immigrants" is much higher than that, however, once we add in the large numbers of illegal aliens who were legalized under the provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986: 823,704 aliens living here since 1982 were legalized along with 56,668 special agricultural workers. Thus, a more complete count is 1,536,483.

At last word, provisional data for Fiscal Year 1991 show that legal immigration (not including legalization of people already in the country) rose to 704,005. In 1991, the top sending country was the USSR, followed by the Philippines, Vietnam, and Mexico. In 1990, Mexico sent the most immigrants. In the current Fiscal Year, 1992, the provisions of the more liberal 1990 immigration law are in full effect, so a further increase of about one-third more people can be expected.

—Carl Haub

ADDENDA



Club Med ages with the baby boomers. Club Med became a symbol of sexual freedom in the 1970s and 1980s, through its well advertised luxury spas where affluent singles could mingle. Today, Club Med is retrofitting its image as the population gets older and takes on family responsibilities. A recent TV ad campaign offers "Club Med Family Vacations" where "each and every member of your family can do whatever they want." Pushing for a still adventuresome, yet more wholesome image, the new "Club Med Circus School" with its flying trapeze (above) promises the family's adolescents "something they can reach for."

New Journal, DEMOS, Launched

A new population journal, *Demos*, to be published in Warsaw, will focus on Central and Eastern Europe. According to Wladyslaw Kondrat, head of the Population Studies Center of Warsaw, Poland, *Demos* will "aim to spread knowledge of the population processes, their determinants and socioeconomic consequences," mostly in the Central and East European countries. Written in English, *Demos* will also include French and Spanish abstracts.

Demos encourages contributions from demographers, sociologists, anthropologists, epidemiologists, statisticians, economists, geographers, historians, and public policy analysts.

Contact: Wladyslaw Kondrat, Ph.D., Biuro Analiz i Ekspertyz, Ludnosciowych "Demos," Spolka Z 0.0., UL Konrada 4/95, 01-922 Warszawa, Poland.

Upcoming Conferences

• **International Conference on Population Aging.** September 17-19 in San Diego, CA. Sponsors include the Gerontological Society of America, WHO and the UN, among others.

Contact. Conference Secretariat, University Center on Aging, College of Health and Human Services, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-0273.

• **Summer Institute in Research on Minority Aging.** August 16-22 in Warrenton, VA.

Contact: National Institute on Aging, Bldg. 31, Rm. 5C35, 9000 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, MD 20892. Phone: 301-496-0765.

Correction

In last month's story "House Committee Debates U.S. Family Norms" (*PT*, April 1992, p. 5) it was incorrectly stated that "about 12 percent of all U.S. families with children consist of a married couple with the father in the labor force and the mother not working outside the home." In fact, 12 percent is the proportion of all *households*. The correct number for the proportion of all *families with children* should have read 33 percent, so that one-third of all U.S. families with children are of the "breadwinner-homemaker model."

CURRENT READINGS

PEACEFUL INVASIONS: Immigration and Changing America, by Leon F. Bouvier. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, and Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies, 1992. 234 pages. $17.50, paperback; $45.00 cloth. ISBN: 0-8191-8403-9 paperback; 0-8191-8402-0 cloth.

In this popularly written and thoughtful analysis, Leon F. Bouvier explains why he believes the United States ought to institute lower levels of immigration. The reasons for his position, which he terms a "liberal limitationist" approach, include:

- to "protect U.S. workers" from depressed wages;
- to "steer the U.S. economy toward a high-productivity trajectory so that there is more income to share with the poor;"
- to "ease the process of cultural adjustment for newcomers;" and
- to "slow down population growth," thus easing the future burden on the nation's infrastructure, environment and quality of life.

Bouvier says his position is "pro-immigrant" in that he favors policies that will foster a heterogeneous society and help immigrants to thrive. But he fears that current levels of immigration are creating economic and social conditions unfavorable to the immigrants who are admitted.

In place of the old "melting pot" ideal of an earlier era (through which newly arriving cultures are homogenized into a dominant native one), Bouvier calls for "pluralistic assimilation," in which "all...residents, of whatever background, have equal access to all avenues of success and in the process adapt to American culture while contributing to its ever changing content." Current levels, he warns, are pushing us toward a "divisive cultural pluralism."

The United States accepted more than 9 million immigrants during the 1980s, the only developed nation to approach such levels. The Immigration Reform of 1990 increased levels still further (see Take a Number, p. 10). Bouvier suggests drastic cutbacks to a level of 450,000 per year (including refugees), which, over time, would limit the total size of the U.S. population to about 316 million by 2050.

Bouvier explores the politics of immigration and traces the implications of current levels for some of the most hotly debated public issues of the day: poverty, employment, wage levels, public education, and the environment.

—Susan Kalish

APPLIED DEMOGRAPHY: An Introduction to Basic Concepts, Methods, and Data, by Steve H. Murdock and David R. Ellis. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991. 299 pp. $29.95. ISBN: 0-81338372-2.

Steve Murdock and David Ellis have put together an important new book for the applied demography discipline—a comprehensive overview of materials and methods of the field. In a readable fashion it covers the major concepts, methods, and data sources, as well as the major statistical techniques used in the field, with ample examples of applications. It is a well organized text that students should find easy to use.

Murdock and Ellis review population estimates and projections, covering the basic approaches and methods. They also discuss major U.S. population trends that will have a pervasive impact in the future and ponder the future of applied demography as a discipline.

The authors do a good job of capturing the flavor of applied demographic work. For example, before launching into a description of each component of the cohort-component projection model, they quickly point out that it is the migration assumptions that are "usually the major area of consternation in population projections." The authors acknowledge that their experience lies primarily in the public sector; this background is sometimes evident in their conservative research approach, appropriate in the public policy arena, which cannot tolerate as large a level of sampling error as many business applications.

One shortcoming: this book just begs for graphics. Besides a few Lorenz curves, the only other graphic spotted in the entire book was one population pyramid. The text would also benefit from a typographic facelift—subheads to guide the reader and chapter titles at the top of each page. Even the tables appeared as though the only presentation technology available was a typewriter.

—Tom Godfrey

Books Received

Managing Health Expenditures Under National Health Insurance: The Case of Korea, by Willy De Geyndt. Washington, DC: World Bank, World Bank Technical Paper #156, 1991. 37 pp. ISBN: 0-8213-1936-1. $6.95.

Women, Work, and Child Welfare in the Third World, Joanne Leslie and Michael Paolisso, eds. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989. 265 pp. ISBN: 0-8133-7805-2. $39.50.

The Health Care of the Arabs in Israel, by Nira Reiss. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991. 212 pp. ISBN: 0-8133-7763-3. $29.95.

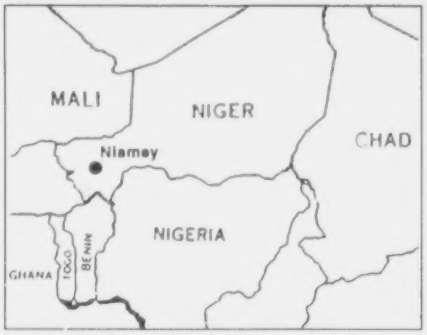
Regional and Sectoral Development in Mexico as Alternatives to Migration, Sergio Diaz-Briquets and Sidney Weintraub, eds. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991. 393 pp. ISBN: 0-8133-8343-6. $46.50.

From Welfare to Work, by Judith M. Gueron and Edward Pauly. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991. 316 pp. ISBN: 0-87154-346. $12.95 paper.

The World Bank Atlas, Washington, DC: World Bank, 1991. 29 pp. ISBN: 0-8213-1977-4. $7.95.

Niger

Population (1992 est.): 8.3 million
Total area: 489,190 sq. miles
Population density: 16/sq. mi.
Births per 1,000 pop.: 52
Deaths per 1,000 pop.: 20
Rate of natural increase: 3.2
Infant mortality rate: 124 per 1,000 live births
Life expectancy: 43 male; 46 female
Capital: Niamey



by Alex de Sherbinin

Located in the heart of the Sahel, a region characterized by high variability in rainfall and withering heat, Niger shares with its neighbors the distinction of being among the least developed countries in the world.

Niger's climatic variability results from its location on the northern edge of the inter-tropical convergence zone (ITCZ), an area of intense rainfall centered over the equator. The ITCZ migrates north during the summer months, and depending on how far north it travels and how long it stays, the rainfed agriculture along the country's southern border either thrives or fails.

Over 90 percent of the population works in the agricultural sector, which accounts for approximately half of its gross domestic product. Drought-resistant millet is a mainstay of production, followed by sorghum, manioc and ground nuts. In addition to sedentary farmers, Taureg and Fulani pastoral nomads tend herds of goats, sheep and cattle. The other major economic activity is mining, though it only employs a small proportion of the workforce. Nevertheless, uranium accounted for approximately 80 percent of export earnings in the mid-1980s.

The 1988 census revealed that the population of Niger doubled in just 23 years, and that half the population is under 15 years of age. This concentration of the population in the youngest age groups yields a tremendous population momentum as females in this group enter their reproductive years.

The reality of rapid population growth given the nation's meager resource base has added impetus to the development of a national population policy. The new policy, expected to be adopted soon, will address fertility reduction in the context of health and economic development. The broad objectives of the policy are to improve health and nutrition while reducing mortality and morbidity; improve the standard of living, especially of women and children; increase returns from the educational system; and improve demographic data collection and analysis. The data needs for policy and planning will be partly met by the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) scheduled this year.

In 1988, Niger was the first Sahelian country to repeal a 1920 French law banning the sale or distribution of contraceptives. However, the family planning program has achieved only modest results. Contraceptive prevalence is approximately 15 percent in urban areas, and negligible in rural areas.

A knowledge, attitudes, and practices survey was conducted in Niamey two years after the first family planning program was established in 1984. A large proportion, 87 percent, of respondents reported a desire to use services in the future, and more than 75 percent knew of at least one contraceptive method. However, there are high levels of discontinuation due to inadequate counseling, mistrust of service providers, and real or perceived side-effects.

The Haoussa ethnic group makes up over 50 percent of the population, followed by Djerma Sonrai (20 percent), Taureg and Peulh (10 percent each), and six other ethnic groups. Over 98 percent of the population is Muslim.

Like many of its neighbors, Niger is undergoing democratic reforms. An interim government is in power and presidential elections are scheduled for the fall of 1992.

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